

POLITICAL HOROSCOPES
FROM THE REIGN OF ZENO

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IN the late ninth century of the Christian era, near the southeastern shore of the Caspian Sea, Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb ibn 'Alī al-Qaṣrānī¹ wrote an enormous astrological compendium entitled *Jāmi' al-kitāb* or *Kitāb al-Masā'il*. One chapter of this work is devoted to a discussion of the interpretation of horoscopes cast on the occasions of the coronations of kings.² In this chapter he quotes nineteen examples; all can be dated from the astronomical information which they contain, and fall into three groups.

Group A: apparently due to
Māshā'allāh.³

- I. 21 October 766.⁴
- II. 10 August 767.
- III. 13 July 767.
- IV. 13 June 767.⁴
- V. 10 January 768.⁵

Group B: from a Byzantine source.⁶

- VI. 12 January 475.
- VII. 18 July 484.
- VIII. 9 April 483.

Group C: due to al-Qaṣrānī.

- IX. 7 January 884.
- X. 18 August 531.⁷
- XI. 24 June 754.
- XII. 31 October 864.
- XIII. 12 February 866.
- XIV. 9 October 867.
- XV. 28 August 870.
- XVI. 16 September 877.
- XVII. 3 June 880.
- XVIII. 8 November 882.
- XIX. 3 December 882.

¹ A brief notice of al-Qaṣrānī appears in M. Ullmann, *Die Natur- und Geheimwissenschaften im Islam* (Leiden, 1972), 314–15.

² The earliest coronation-horoscope that we possess is that of Antiochus I of Commagene at Nimrud Dagħ, dated 7 July -61; see O. Neugebauer and H. B. Van Hoesen, *Greek Horoscopes* (Philadelphia, 1959), 14–16. For other horoscopes of coronations or of astronomical events associated with accessions to the throne (in addition to those mentioned in this article), see D. Pingree, "Historical Horoscopes," *JAOS*, 82 (1962), 487–502; *idem*, "Gregory Chionades and Palaeologan Astronomy," *DOP*, 18 (1964), 135–60, esp. 138 note 29; *idem*, *The Thousands of Abū Ma'shar* (London, 1968), 24 note and 78–121; and *idem*, "The Astrological School of John Abramius," *DOP*, 25 (1971), 191–215, esp. 191–94 and 200; and E. S. Kennedy and D. Pingree, *The Astrological History of Māshā'allāh* (Cambridge, Mass., 1971).

³ On Māshā'allāh, besides the book of Kennedy and Pingree cited in the previous footnote, see D. Pingree in *Dictionary of Scientific Biography*, 9 (New York, 1974), 159–62, and "Māshā'allāh: Some Sasanian and Syriac Sources," *Essays on Islamic Philosophy and Science*, ed. G. F. Hourani (Albany, 1975), 5–14.

⁴ Horoscopes I and IV in variant forms are found in the so-called "Leiden Dorotheus" (Leiden Or. 891, folios 8–10^v) and in the Byzantine compendium ascribed to Aḥmad the Persian, which is preserved primarily in two manuscripts produced in the School of John Abramius: Marcianus graecus 324, copied in about 1380, and Angelicus graecus 29 (our *E* below), copied by Eleutherius Elius in 1388. On the School of John Abramius, see the article cited in note 2 and "The Horoscope of Constantinople," to appear in the *Festschrift* for Willy Hartner.

⁵ This horoscope and its Byzantine translation have been published by me in Kennedy and Pingree, 181–84.

⁶ A number of other fifth-century Byzantine horoscopes were known to Arab astrologers; see Kennedy and Pingree, 169–74 and 178–80 (Māshā'allāh), and D. Pingree, "The Later Paulīśasiddhānta," *Centaurus*, 14 (1969), 172–241, esp. 172 (Abū Ma'shar).

⁷ A corrupt version of this horoscope was published from a manuscript in the India Office Library by S. H. Taqizadeh, "Some Chronological Data Relating to the Sasanian Period," *BSOS*, 9 (1937–39), 125–39, esp. 128–30.

Groups A and C will be published elsewhere;⁸ here we are concerned only with B.

All three of the horoscopes in Group B share a pessimistic attitude toward the prospects of the respective rulers, though it is clear that previous astrologers had advised the rulers of horoscopes VI and VII differently before their coronations. This characteristic and their contemporaneity suggest a common source: an astrological advisor relieving his regal patron of concern over his enemies' or rivals' chances by proving astrologically that they are fated to fail. In the first two cases this astrologer (presumably through his master's secret service) has obtained copies of the horoscopes cast by the rivals' astrologers for their coronations; in the third he has cast the horoscope himself for the known date of the rival's assumption of power.

Horoscope VII, concerning the coronation of Leontius, is preserved in Greek in a version that has been edited twice before⁹ and partially translated into English;¹⁰ the Arabic allows us to present an improved edition. The last sentence of the Arabic refers to the substance of the verses of Dorotheus cited at the end; this circumstance is convincing evidence that it is a translation of the very discussion of the horoscope which we still have in Greek. It is probable, therefore, that the author of that Greek horoscope also wrote the Greek originals of horoscopes VI and VIII.

Leontius, of course, was rebelling against the Emperor Zeno. One of his associates in this rebellion was the grammarian Pamprepus of Panopolis, whose career is analyzed astrologically in a horoscope preserved in a work falsely ascribed to Rhetorius.¹¹ Horoscopes VI and VIII, as we shall shortly demonstrate, can also be connected with political rivals of Zeno. It is clear, then, that our astrologer was in the employ of that unpleasant despot. It is possible that he was the Maurianus who, according to John Malalas,¹² was consulted by Zeno with regard to his successor in 486.

I edit the Arabic texts of the three horoscopes of Group B from two manuscripts. *H* is folios 305–306 of Hamadiye 821¹³ in the Süleymaniye Library in Istanbul, a manuscript of 343 folios copied in A.H. 1183 (which extended from 7 May 1769 till 26 April 1770); *B* is pages 487–489 of Berlin Arab 5877 (Landberg 70),¹⁴ a recent manuscript of 522 pages.

⁸ Group C will shortly be published by W. Madelung and D. Pingree in *JNES*.

⁹ By F. Cumont, in *Catalogus Codicum Astrologorum Graecorum* (henceforth, *CCAG*), I (Brussels, 1898), 107–8, and by W. Kroll, in *CCAG*, VI (Brussels, 1903), 66–67.

¹⁰ Neugebauer and Van Hoesen, 147–48.

¹¹ On the true nature of this work, see D. Pingree, ed., *Dorothei Sidonii Carmen Astrologicum* (Leipzig, 1976), XII–XIII, and “Antiochus and Rhetorius,” to appear in *Classical Philology*.

¹² Ed. L. Dindorf, Bonn ed. (1831), 390; and *Chronicon Paschale*, ed. L. Dindorf, Bonn ed. (1832), I, 606. See also E. Stein, *Histoire du Bas-Empire*, II (Paris, 1949), 75.

¹³ M. Krause, “Stambuler Handschriften islamischer Mathematiker,” *Quellen und Studien Gesch. Math. Astr. Phys.*, B 3 (Berlin, 1936), 437–532, esp. 453.

¹⁴ W. Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis der arabischen Handschriften*, V (Berlin, 1893), pp. *sub numero*

Horoscope VI

مثال عقد التاج والسقوط من الملك.

انظر الى كواكب هذا الملك ساعة ملك. كيف غرب عن هؤلاء المنجمين الذين نظروا له. لان الزهرة كانت بوسط السماء وهي ربة سهم السعادة وصاحبة مثلثة الشمس نورالنهار والمشتري ينظر الى الشمس من تربيع. فكانت هذه دلالة على العز والشرف والبهاء. ولم ينظروا الى النواظر اليها ولا الى ان الملك انما استقامته من الشمس. وكانت الشمس في الثاني عشر من الطالع مع الذنب والمريخ ينظر اليها من المربعة. فسقط لذلك من الملك والبهاء وكذلك. <وزحل> رب الطالع ورب بيت الشمس ساقط في السادس، منظور من تربيع المريخ، مقابل الشمس، وهوناقص، ردى السير. وكان القمر في الثامن، في مكان نحس، ولا ينظر رب بيته اليه، وهو مع ذلك في الثاني عشر <من> الطالع. والمشتري منحوس من مقابلة المريخ، ناقص عليه بسعاده وسلطانه. فكذلك كان الامتلاء ايضا منكسفا ومع التتين وضعفه نحسان. فدل هذا كله افة، بمسار الملك ونقصه وانه القتال والشر والبلاء.

10

15

الحوت	الطالع الدولوك عطاردى	الجدى ذنب ييب الشمس القوس الزهرة كط
الحمل المريخ كر		
الثور		العقرب
الجوزاء	زحل كو الامتلاء بر السرطان رأس ييب	سهم السعادة المشتري طل الميزان السنبلة القمر يد
	الاسدك	

H وسط | B والذين | H المنجمون | H om. عن | H كوكب 3 || B عن المنزل | B مسئله 1
ساقطة 7 || B om. والبهاء 6 || H فكانت | H وهذا مثاله. add. اليها post 5 || B السهم | B صاحبة 4
المريخ post. منحوس 8.9 || H om. هو 8 || B om. في | B sup. lin. هو | B للشمس | H منظورا | BH
B وفساد 10 || B و H فدل | BH وضعطه | B القنين H التبين | H و B فكذلك 9 || H pon.
B كد 14 || B عطاردك 12 || B حوت | B om. ك 11 || B وسبب | B om. ونقصه | B للملك
B om. ك 18 || B المشتري كر 17 || B سهم السعادة 16 || B العاشرعقرب 15 || B كو | H كاله
B om. ييب | B القمره 19 || B om. الامتلاء بر

Horoscope VI

Example of a coronation and fall from rulership

Look at the planets of this king at the hour (at which he began to) rule. How did it escape the notice of those astrologers who looked for him? Because Venus is in midheaven and is the lord of the Lot of Fortune and the lord of the triplicity of the Sun, the luminary of the day, and Jupiter aspects the Sun from quartile. This indicates power and eminence and splendor. But they did not look at its (the Sun's) aspectors nor at the fact that the soundness of rulership is from the Sun. But the Sun is in the twelfth (place) from the ascendent with the descending node, and Mars aspects it from quartile. Because of this he will fall from rulership, splendor, and so on. (Saturn is) the lord of the ascendent and the lord of the Sun's house, cadent in the sixth (place), aspected from quartile by Mars, opposite to the Sun, diminishing and evil in (its) motion. And the Moon is in the eighth, in a bad place, and the lord of its house (i.e., Mercury) does not aspect it, but in addition is in the twelfth from the ascendent. Jupiter is injured by the opposition of Mars, diminishing his fortune and his governance. Similarly the fullness (of the Moon) also is eclipsed and is with the ascending node, and the two malefics weaken it. All of this indicates poverty, the loss of rulership and its diminution, and strife and evil and misery.

This horoscope can be dated about 9 AM of 12 January 475; there was a partial lunar eclipse on 8 January 475.

	Text	Computation
Saturn	Cancer 26 ⁰	Cancer 29 ⁰
Jupiter	Libra 9;30	Libra 2
Mars	Aries 27	Aries 28
Sun	Capricorn 21	Capricorn 23
Venus	Sagittarius 29	Capricorn 2
Mercury	Aquarius 10	Aquarius 11
Moon	Virgo 14	Virgo 6
Ascending node	Cancer 12	Cancer 10
Ascendent	Aquarius 20	ca. 9 AM

The event with which this horoscope must be connected is the coronation of Basiliscus as Emperor of the East after Zeno had fled Constantinople with his wife, his mother, and his household goods "on the ninth day of his consulship"¹⁵ (presumably 9 January,¹⁶ the day following the lunar eclipse) in 475. The horoscope may originally have been cast by an astrologer of Illus, who acted in conjunction with Basiliscus.¹⁷ Zeno's astrologer was the more successful, for Basiliscus was overthrown after a reign of but two years.

¹⁵ Fragment 210 of John of Antioch, in *FHG*, IV (Paris, 1851), 618.

¹⁶ E. Stein, *Vom römischen zum byzantinischen Staate* (Vienna, 1928), 537.

¹⁷ This astrologer might also have originally cast horoscope VII, since Illus was involved with Leontius in 484 as he was with Basiliscus in 475.

Horoscope VII

مثال اخر لعقد التاج.

وهذا مثال اخر. الملك وضع التاج على رأسه واختار له المنجمون ذلك، فلم يصيبوا فيها وضموها من استقامة ملكه. وكانت الكواكب على ما في هذه الصورة.

5	<p>الاسد عطارد يط</p> <p>السنبلة</p>	<p>الطالع السرطان كج المشتري به المريخ كب الشمس كج الذنب يب</p>	<p>الجوزاء الزهرة كا</p> <p>الثور</p>
	الميزان	ساعة عطارد	الحمل
10	<p>سهم السعادة يو القمر يو زحل به المعرب</p> <p>القوس</p>	<p>الجدى الرأس يب</p>	<p>الحوت</p> <p>الدلو</p>

ذهب هؤلاء المنجمون الى ان الشمس كانت في الطالع والمشتري وبهرام معها. ولم ينظروا اولاً الى رب الساعة عطارد وكيف وقع في الثاني من الطالع، ساقطاً، بعده الاكثر من الشمس - دل على ميته سوء اذ هؤلاء لا يراها - وهي رب بيته. وكان زحل مع القمر في موضع سعادته وهو ناظر من تربيع الى عطارد، وكانت الزهرة لا تستطيع دفعها عن القمر لسقوطها عن [زحل وعن] الطالع. وطرح الشمس شعاعها على القمر وزحل حائل بينها وبين الناظرين اليها، والقمر مع نحوسته، رب بيت الشمس والطالع والمشتري، والمريخ والذنب في الطالع مع المشتري. كيف غفلوا عن ارباب بيوت النيرين الذين بهما يبين الامر. فملك قليلاً، ثم سقط من ملكه.

B || بح H, كج 8 H || ط | B, om. H || 6 كج B || B ذلك | BH ملك 3 || B مسئلة اخرى 1
H || 13 به B, كو H, كه 12 || H (ad sortem pertinet) يج, B و 11 || B om. ساعة عطارد 9
add. sed del. ساقطاً post | B om. 15 || B pon. الى عطارد | B الى ان هذه الصورة H, على 14
H | عن B, على 17 || B دفعا 16 || H وهو | B om. B | اذا | H | ميته | B | دلا | H في الطالع
B عن ملكته | H الامور | B اللذان | B والنيران هما add. النيرين post 19 || H ومع | B om. 18 || B حايله

Horoscope VII

Another example of a coronation

This is another example. The king placed a crown on his head at the time the astrologers chose for him, but they did not succeed in what they wrote of the soundness of his rule. The planets were as they are in this diagram.

These astrologers noticed that the Sun is in the ascendent, and that Jupiter and Mars are with it. But they did not first look at the lord of the hour, Mercury, and how it happens to be in the second (place) from the ascendent, cadent, at its greatest elongation from the Sun—it indicates his death, though they did

not see it—and it (the Sun) is the lord of its (Mercury's) house. Saturn is with the Moon in the place of his (Lot of) Fortune and aspects Mercury from quartile, but Venus is not able to drive it (Saturn's maleficence) away from the Moon because it (Venus) is cadent from the ascendent. And the Sun casts its rays at the Moon, but Saturn is an obstacle between it and its aspectors, and the Moon with its evil is the lord of the Sun's house and of the ascendent and (of the house) of Jupiter, while Mars and the descending node are in the ascendent with Jupiter.

How did they (Leontius' astrologers) neglect the lords of the houses of the two luminaries, by which the matter is clarified? He will rule a short while, and then fall from his rulership.

The Greek version of this horoscope is preserved in two copies. It is chapter 88 of the compilation put together by Eleutherius Elius in 1388 under the name Palchus in *Angelicus graecus* 29,¹⁸ designated *E*, where it occupies folios 126–126^v; and it occurs in a collection of horoscopes in *Vindobonensis phil. gr.* 108,¹⁹ designated *U*, where in it is found on folio 299.

Καταρχή Λεοντίου στεφθέντος ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ.

Οὗτος ἀπὸ β' μαθηματικῶν λαβὼν καταρχὴν ἐστέφθη καὶ εὐθὺς ἐξέπεσε τῆς βασιλείας καὶ τῆς τύχης. ἔτους Διοκλητιανοῦ <σ'> μηνὶ Ἐπιφί κδ' ὥρας ἀρχομένης α', Ἥλιος ἐν Καρκίνῳ κς', Σελήνη Σκορπίῳ ζ', Κρόνος Σκορπίῳ ιε', Ζεὺς Καρκίνῳ <ι>ε', Ἄρης Καρκίνῳ κ',
5 Ἀφροδίτη Διδύμοις κς', Ἑρμῆς Λέοντι ιθ', ὠροσκόπος Καρκίνῳ κγ', μεσουράνημα Κριῶ, Ἀναβιβάζων Αἰγοκέρῳτι ιδ', σύνοδος ἐν Καρκίνῳ, κλῆρος τύχης Σκορπίῳ [ι]ζ', δαίμων Κριῶ, ὕψωμα γεννήσεως Κριῶ.

Πολὺ ἐφάντασε τοὺς τὴν καταρχὴν δεδωκότας ἢ τοῦ Ἥλιου καὶ τοῦ Διὸς καὶ τοῦ Ἄρεως ὠροσκοπία καὶ <ή> ἐπαναφορὰ τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ καὶ τὸ ἀγαθοτυχεῖν τὴν Σελήνην
10 πρὸς Κρόνον καὶ Δία. ἀλλ' οὐ προσέσχον πρῶτον τῷ πολεῦντι καὶ διέποντι Ἑρμῇ εἰς πάθος ἐμπεπτωκότι· τὴν γὰρ μεγίστην ἀπόστασιν ἀπέιχε τοῦ Ἥλιου, ὃ καὶ βιαιοθάνατον ἀποτελεῖ, καὶ ὑπὸ Κρόνου [μόνου] ἐθεωρεῖτο. οὔτε γὰρ ἡ Ἀφροδίτη μόνη ἠδύνατο θεραπεῦσαι τὸ πάθος· ἐπεμβόλει γὰρ αὐτῇ ὁ Ἥλιος. οὔτε πάλιν ἐσκόπησαν τὴν Σελήνην κυρίαν οὔσαν τοῦ Ἥλιου καὶ τοῦ ὠροσκόπου καὶ Διὸς καὶ Ἄρεως καὶ τῆς συνόδου ταπει-
15 νουμένην καὶ κακοδαιμονοῦσαν. ἵνα δὲ μηδὲν τούτων τῶν σχημάτων ὑπῆρχεν οὐκ ἔρκει πρὸς καθαίρεσιν τὸ τὸν Ἥλιον καὶ τὸν ὠροσκόπον καὶ τὸν Δία <ᾶμα> τετυχηκέναι.

Πῶς δὲ παρήλθεν αὐτοὺς καὶ τὸ κεφάλαιον Δωροθέου, ἐνθα λέγει.²⁰

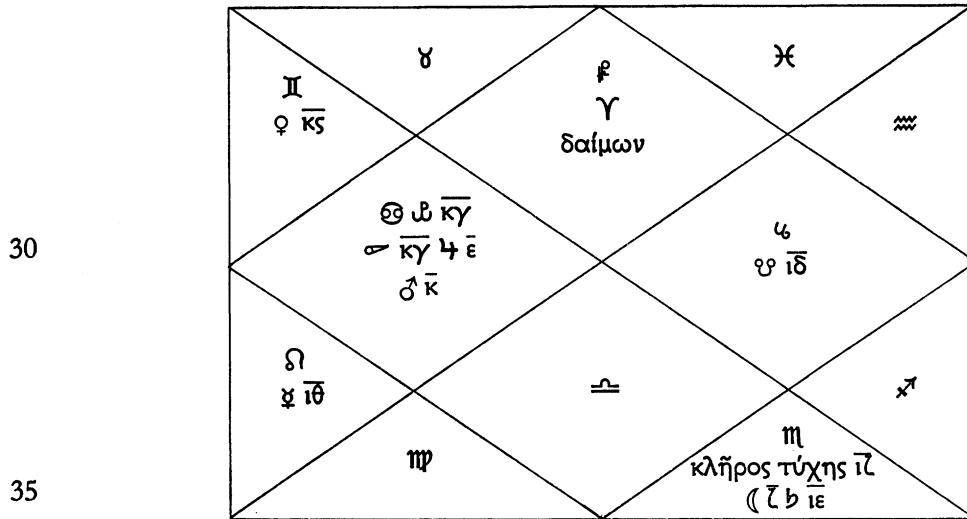
δέρκεο δ' Ἡελίον τε μέγαν κραιπνήν τε Σελήνην
ἡδ' οἰκῶν βασιλῆας ἐν οἷς δύο φῶτα βέβηκεν,
20 ὠρονόμον δ' ἐπὶ τοῖσι καὶ αἰθέρος ἀκροτάτοιο

¹⁸ *CCAG*, V, 1 (Brussels, 1904), 4–57; see also “The Astrological School of John Abramius” cited in note 2, and “The Horoscope of Constantinople” cited in note 4.

¹⁹ *CCAG*, VI, 1–37.

²⁰ Fragment relating to Dorotheus V 5, 16–17, in the edition cited in note 11.

ζῶον ὅτι ψαύει μέσον οὐρανὸν ἀμφιπολεῦον,
 καὶ Μῆνη τίνα τούτων ἔχει τόπον ἥδὲ τίς αὐτῆς
 ἔστιν ἀναξ. ἦν δ' οὗτος ἀποκλιμάτεσσιν ἐνείη,
 αὐτὴ τ' ἐ<ν> κέντροισιν, ἐνὶ πρώτοισι μὲν ἔργον
 25 εὐαντὲς λαμπρόν τε φανήσεται, αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα
 ψεύσεται οἱ ὄριον, τὸ δὲ οἱ τέλος ἐξαπολεῖται.



1 πη' in marg. E, ρξδ' in marg. U || 1-3 καταρχή — τύχης om. U || 3 μῖνι U | ὥρας E, ἐρμούσα U | ἀρχομένη ια U | ἐν om. E || 4 σκορπίω] signum Cancrī, E | 15 Arab || 6 ἐν om. U | δαίμων U || 7 γεν-
 νήσεως om. U || 8 τὰς U || 8.9 τοῦ ἄρεως καὶ τοῦ Διὸς U || 9 ἡ suppl. Cumont | ἀγαθοτυχὴν U ||
 10 δῖαν U || 10.11 τὸν πολεῦοντα καὶ διέποντα Ἑρμῆν εἰς πάθος ἐμπεπτωκότα U || 11 μεγίστην U | ἀπό-
 στασιν om. E || 12 καὶ — ἐξεωρεῖτο ante 11 δ pon. U || 11 βιοθάνατον E || 12 ἀπετέλει U | μόνον
 E | ἡ om. E | μόνη om. U || 13 ἐμεσεμβόλει U | αὐτὴν E, αὐτοὺς U | οὕτε E, καὶ U || 14 τη U |
 ταπεινουμένη U || 15 τούτου U | ὑπάρχων U || 16 καθέρεισιν U | ἅμα suppl. Kroll | τετυχηκαίνε U ||
 17 πὸς U || 18 διελιδόν U | μέγα U | κραιπύ U || 19 β E | βεβήκασιν E || 20 ἄερος U | ἀκροτάτοις EU,
 corr. Kroll || 21 ψαύσει E | μεσὸν οὐρανὸν U, μεσουράν E || 22 τίνα E, τι ια U | τούτων ad ascendens
 mediumque caelum refert, τούτου Ludwig | ἡδότης U, ἡδ' ὅτις Kroll || 23 δ' om. E | ἀποκλιμάτεσσιν
 E, ἀποκλιμάτευσιν U, corr. Cumont || 24 τ' ἐν Kroll, γὰρ Cumont || 25 εὐ γ' ἄντε U | λαμπρόν τε φανήσε-
 ται om. U | ἔπειτα U || 26 οἱ ὄριον om. E, εὐδοέον sugg. Kroll, ἐν μεσάτοις sugg. Ludwig || 27-35 schema
 om. E || 29 δαίμων U

This horoscope was cast for sunrise (an hour ruled by Mercury) of Wednesday
 18 July 484.²¹

	Greek	Arabic	Computation
Saturn	Scorpio 15 ⁰	Scorpio 15 ⁰	Scorpio 14 ⁰
Jupiter	Cancer <1>5	Cancer 15	Cancer 17
Mars	Cancer 20	Cancer 22	Cancer 7
Sun	Cancer 26	Cancer 23	Cancer 26
Venus	Gemini 26	Gemini 21	Gemini 28
Mercury	Leo 19	Leo 19	Leo 23
Moon	Scorpio 7	Scorpio 16	Scorpio 11
Ascending node	Capricorn 14	Capricorn 12	Capricorn 6
Ascendant	Cancer 23	Cancer 23	sunrise

²¹ Neugebauer and Van Hoesen, 147-48.

Again in this case Zeno's astrologer was more accurate in his prediction than was his rival's since Leontius was killed in 488.²² One somewhat unusual term used in the Greek original of this horoscope is ὕψωμα γεννήσεως. A similar term, ὕψωμα γενέσεως, is found in the horoscope of Pamprepus who, as was indicated above, was associated with Leontius and Illus in the revolt of 484. The horoscope of Pamprepus is also interpreted in a hostile fashion, and like that of Leontius' coronation contains a quotation from Dorotheus. I suspect that it must join our collection of horoscopes interpreted by Zeno's astrologer. It and two closely related horoscopes are edited in the appendix.

Horoscope VIII

مثال لعقد التاج

زائرجته وصفته.

5	الذنب كح السرطان الاسد وتد الارض	الطالع الجوزاء ز	الثور عطارد و المشتري يط الحمل الزهرة ط الشمس يح
10	[زحل] السنبلة المريخ ط	رب اليوم زحل	الحوت
	الميزان القمر كح العقرب التام <زحل>	القوس سهم السعادة يح	درجات وسط السواء ير الجدى الرأس كح

كانت الشمس والزهرة كلاهما في شرفها في مكان السعادة. فكان اول ملكه صالحه. لكن بهرام كان في بيت العاقبة 15 ينظر الى وسط السماء من المقابلة، وكان المشتري رب سهم السعادة في الثاني عشر من الطالع، وكان رب بيت القمر والتام الزهرة فاسدة تحت ضوء الشمس. ثم انظر: رب اليوم زحل كان في السادس من الطالع ناقص والمريخ ينظر اليه. وهي في برج المدينة في وسط السماء - يعني الزهرة - وكان المشتري رب بيت المدينة التي ملك فيها في الثاني عشر من الطالع. فدل الذي طرحه من ملكه لم يكن عزله، السلطان الاقليلا.

om. B || 7 تد الارض ط 5 B || 4 يح 3 om. B || 3 مثال اخر لعقد 1
H || 13 الرأس كح 11,12 B || 10 يط 10 om. B || 10 رب اليوم زحل | الحوت الزهرة 9 H ||
sup. B | ابرام H | لكون B | ملك BH | شرفها B | الزهرة والشمس 15 H || 15 التام | om. B ||
lin. H || 16 مقابلة B || 17 والمقام من B | رب بيت السلطان واليوم B | B || 18 بيت om. B | B ||
B له امرطنتظم الامرة بسيره وهذه صورة زائرجته [عز - الاقليلا | B ولم 19

²² For the adventures of Illus and Leontius, see Stein, *Histoire du Bas-Empire*, II, 28-31.

Horoscope VIII

Example of a coronation.

I wrote down its horoscopic diagram.

Both the Sun and Venus are in its (the Sun's) exaltation in the place of happiness. So the beginning of his rule is good. But Mars is in the house of the result aspecting midheaven from opposition, and Jupiter, the lord of the Lot of Fortune, is in the twelfth (place) from the ascendent; and the lord of the Moon's house and fullness is Venus, which is impaired beneath the light of the Sun. Then look: the lord of the day, Saturn, is in the sixth from the ascendent, diminishing (in its motion), and Mars aspects it. And it—that is, Venus—is in the sign of the city in midheaven, and Jupiter, the lord of the house of the city in which he rules, is in the twelfth from the ascendent. So it indicates that he who casts him out of his rule will have no power, his government will be very insignificant.

This horoscope can be dated *ca.* 10 AM on Saturday 9 April 483.

	Text	Computation
Saturn	<Scorpio>	Scorpio 9 ⁰
Jupiter	Taurus 19 ⁰	Gemini 0
Mars	Virgo 9	Virgo 12
Sun	Aries 18	Aries 20
Venus	Aries 9	Aries 21
Mercury	Taurus 6	Taurus 10
Moon	Libra 28	Libra 29
Ascending node	Capricorn 28	Aquarius 0
Ascendent	Gemini 7	<i>ca.</i> 10 AM

The question of whose coronation took place on 9 April 483 is not easily answered. All that we learn from the discussion of the horoscope is that his capital is governed by Pisces and that he will not rule for long. However, if we are correct in assuming that this horoscope also was cast by Zeno's astrologer, a candidate is at hand. Theodoric Valamer's activities in this period are best described (but then very inadequately) by Marcellinus Comes. His entries for the years 482 and 483 include the following statements:²³

482, 2. *Theodoricus cognomento Valamer utramque Macedoniam Thessaliamque depopulatus est, Larissam quoque metropolim depraedatus.*

483. *Idem Theodoricus rex Gothorum Zenonis Augusti munificentis paene pacatus magisterque praesentis militiae factus, consul quoque designatus, creditam sibi Ripensis Daciae partem Moesiaequae inferioris cum suis satellitibus pro tempore tenuit.*

²³ MGH, 11, 2, ed. T. Mommsen (Berlin, 1894), 92.

After Theodoric's depredations in 482, Zeno—presumably in early 483—persuaded him to retire to the North, to his capital at Novae (near modern Svištov, in Bulgaria, on the Danube), by granting him presents and titles. Though he actually became consul only in 484, I suspect that Zeno asked his astrologer for a reading based on the date of conferring the titles *magister praesentis militiae* and *consul designatus* on Theodoric—or perhaps the date itself was selected by the astrologer. In any case, according to Odapsus as cited by Hephaestio of Thebes,²⁴ a part of Pisces dominates Borysthenes, another part Thrace; while according to the *Liber Hermetis*,²⁵ the second decan in Pisces dominates Dacia. This should have sufficed to encourage the astrologer to make the prediction that he did.

APPENDIX

The horoscope of Pamprepus is preserved in the collection mistakenly ascribed to Rhetorius of Egypt; it appears on folios 139^v–141 of Parisinus graecus 2425,²⁶ here denoted *R*, from which it was previously edited by F. Cumont,²⁷ and from which I edit it again. *R*'s frequent use of the wrong vowels is ignored in the apparatus.

Γένεσις γραμματικοῦ

Οὗτος γέγονε Θηβαῖος γραμ(μ)ατικός πένης <ἐ>ως ἐτῶν λβ. ἀπὸ δὲ ἐτῶν λγ γήμας ἤρξατο ἀνασφάλ(λ)ειν ἐν Ἀθήναις. καὶ λοιπὸν φυγὼν ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ἐκολλήθη ἀνδρὶ μεγάλῳ, καὶ ὑποκριθεὶς ἑαυτὸ <ν> ὡς γόητα ἦτοι τελεστήν γέγονε κουέστῳρ, εἴτα ὑπατος, 5 εἴτα πατρίκιος. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ὡς προδότης ἐν κάστρῳ ἐσφάγη ἐτῶν μδ ἕκτον. ἦν δὲ καὶ ἀσελγής.

Ἡλιος Ζυγῷ ε' η', Σελήνη Ταύρῳ η' δ', Κρόνος Ταύρῳ κε', Ζεὺς Ζυγῷ κγ' η', Ἄρης Αἰγοκέρωτι κς' η', Ἀφροδίτη Σκορπίῳ κς', Ἑρμῆς Ζυγῷ κγ', ὠροσκόπος Ὑδροχόῳ κγ' λ', μεσουράνημα Τόξότη ε' ιγ', πανσέληνος Κριῷ β' μβ', τύχη Παρθένῳ κς' λδ', δαίμων 10 Καρκίνῳ κ' λδ', ὕψωμα γενέσεως Παρθένῳ, κλῆρος ἀναιρέτου Ὑδροχόῳ.

Ζητήσας τὴν προκειμένην γένεσιν εὔρον τὴν μὲν Σελήνην καὶ Κρόνον καὶ Ἀφροδίτην καὶ Ἄρην μοιρικῶς ἀποκεκλικότας, ἰωδιακῶς δὲ Σελήνην καὶ Κρόνον καὶ Ἀφροδίτην ὡς ἐπικέντρους, τὸν δὲ Ἡλίον καὶ Ἑρμῆν καὶ Δία ἰωδιακῶς ἀποκεκλικότας· μοιρικῶς δὲ ὁ 15 Ἡλιος ἐν τῇ ἐπαναφορᾷ τοῦ δύνοντος κέντρου ἐτύ<γ>χανεν. ὁρῶ οὖν τὸν Κρόνον κύριον ὄντα τοῦ ὠροσκόπου, καὶ πρῶτον τριγωνικὸν δεσπότην τοῦ τε ὠροσκόπου καὶ τοῦ τριγωνικοῦ φωτὸς τοῦ σημαίνοντος τὴν πρώτην ἡλικίαν, ἐν τῷ ἀποκλίματι τοῦ ὑπογείου κέντρου, καὶ ἀναιρέτην, καὶ ὑπὸ Ἄρεως βλαπτόμενον κατὰ τὸ ἰσο<σ>κελῇ τρίγωνον, ἀλλὰ δὴ καὶ τὴν <Ἀφροδίτην> κυρίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς Σελήνης κατ' ἐναντίωσιν αὐτῆς κειμένην.

20 Πῶς οὐκ ἂν τὴν πρώτην ἡλικίαν χαλεπὴν ἐκτήσατο, ἀλλὰ δὴ καὶ φυγὰς ἐν πολλοῖς τόποις ἐγένετο διὰ τὸ διαμετρεῖσθαι τὴν Σελήνην ὑπὸ τοῦ ἰδίου οἰκοδεσπότη. φησὶν γὰρ <...>·

²⁴ *Apotelesmatica*, I, 1, 221, ed. D. Pingree, I (Leipzig, 1973).

²⁵ W. Gundel, *Neue astrologische Texte des Hermes Trismegistos* (Munich, 1936), 23.

²⁶ *CCAG*, VIII, 4 (Brussels, 1922), 22–42.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 221–24.

- τὴν Μήνην καθόρα τίνος ἀστέρος ἐστὶν ἐν οἴκῳ·
 καὶ εὐρης τοῦτον φωλευόμενον διαμέτρῳ,
 25 καὶ φυγὰς ἔσται δὴ κάσμημος καὶ μετανάστης.

Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν περὶ τῆς πρώτης ἡλικίας μέχρι ἐτῶν κε ἢ λ, τουτέστι μέχρι τῆς ἀναφορᾶς τοῦ Ταύρου ἢ τῆς Σελήνης ἢ τῆς κρονικῆς περιόδου. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἀνέτειλε ὁ δεύτερος τριγωνικὸς δεσπότης, τουτέστιν Ἑρμῆς, μετὰ Διὸς ἀπὸ ἐτῶν λβ· Ἑρμοῦ γὰρ περίοδος ἔτη κ καὶ Διὸς ιβ, ἃ γίνεται ἔτη λβ, ἀφ' οὗ ἤρξατο ἀνανεῦν τῇ τύχῃ ἐπειδὴ ὁ Ἑρμῆς καὶ
 30 ὁ κύριος τοῦ κλήρου τῆς τύχης ἐτύ(γ)χανεν. ὅθεν κατὰ μέρος προβαίνοντος χρόνου καὶ τῇ τύχῃ προέκοπτεν διὰ τὸ τὸν Ἑρμῆν εἶναι κύριον τοῦ κλήρου καὶ τῆς δευτέρας ἡλικίας (καὶ ἐγκαρδίου <δντος> Διός) καὶ ἐσπερίαν ἀνατολὴν ποιούμενον [ὅθεν κατὰ πρόβασιν τῶν ἐτῶν προέκοπτε καὶ τῇ τύχῃ].

1 ριγ' in marg. R || 2 γραμματικὸς Cumont | λδ R, λβ Cumont || 3 ἀνασφάλειν Cumont | λυτῶν R, corr. Cumont || 4 ἑαυτὸν Cumont || 5 λδ corr. in μδ || 12 μερικὸς R, corr. Cumont || 13 μοιρηκον R, corr. Cumont || 14 ἐτύγχανεν Cumont || 17 ἀναφαιρέτην R | ἰσοσκελῆ Cumont || 18 ἀφροδίτην Cumont || 20 ἐκτήσητο R, corr. Cumont || 22 <δωρόθεος> Cumont, sed Heph. III 47, 1–51 et Dor. V 36 non quadrant || 23 ἐν οἴκῳ ἐστὶν R, corr. Cumont || 24 καὶ ἦν εὐρις R, corr. Cumont | διάμετρον R, corr. Cumont || 25 ἐστὶ δὲ R, corr. Delcourt | καὶ ἀσμημος corr. in καὶ ἀτιμος R, corr. Cumont || 26 ι R, ἢ Cumont || 27 χρονικῆς R || 30 ἐτύγχανεν Cumont | προβαίνον τοῖς R, corr. Cumont || 31 προεκώπτω R, corr. Cumont || 32 ποιούμενος R || 33 τὴν τύχην R, corr. Cumont in apparatu

Περὶ τοῦ εἶναι αὐτὸν γραμματικόν.

Ὅρα τὸν κλῆρον τῆς τύχης ἐν ἐρμαϊκῷ ζωδίῳ ἐμπεπτωκότα, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἑρμῆν τὸν κύριον τοῦ κλήρου ἐν ἀνθρωποειδεῖ ζωδίῳ καὶ ἰδίῳ τριγώνῳ, μετὰ Διὸς ἰσόμοιρον, καὶ προσώπῳ Διὸς καὶ ὀρίοις Ἑρμοῦ καὶ <οἴκῳ> Ἀφροδίτης. καὶ ταῦτα τὰ κεφάλαια
 5 κοσμεῖν τοιοῦδε τοὺς λόγους, μάλιστα διὰ τὸ τὸν Ἑρμῆν συνεῖναι τῷ Διὶ ἰσόμοιρον. γέγονε δὲ τῇ τύχῃ κουέστωρ.

1 ριδ' in marg. R || 2 ὁρος R, corr. Cumont | ἐμπεπτωκότα R, corr. Cumont || 3 ἰσόμοιρον R, corr. Cumont || 5 τὸ οὐδὲ R, corr. Cumont | ἰσώμοιρον R, corr. Cumont || 6 κώεστωρ R, corr. Cumont

Περὶ τοῦ εἶναι αὐτὸν προδότην.

Ὅρα τὸν Ἑρμῆν καθυπερτεροῦντα τὸν Ἄρην κατὰ τετράγωνον. φησὶ γὰρ τις τῶν σοφῶν.²⁸

- εἰ δὲ νυ τετράπλευρος ἐὼν τὸν ἀνώτερον ἴσχει
 5 Ἑρμείας, βαιὸν δὲ τόπον φ(α)υλώτατος Ἄρης,
 δεινῶς ἐξετέλεσ(σ)ε πανούργους ἦτε μελόντας
 ἀρπαγὰς καὶ ἀλλοτρίων στερήσεις <ποιεῖν>,
 εἰς ἕτερον δ' ἐτέρου μεταν(άστ)ασιν ἀνέρος ἄνδρα.
 ἀλ(λ)οτ' εὐροῖμεν καὶ τὸ λοιπόν·

- 10 ἐνισκήψουσι <πρ>οδόντες
 <σ>φι(ν) κακομηχανίῃ, κτεανῶν δ' <ἀπο>γυμνώσουσιν.

1 ριε' in marg. R || 4 νῦν R | τετράπληρος R | ἰσχυ R, corr. Cumont || 5 ἐρμῆς R, corr. Cumont | post τόπον add. μαίνει R || 6 δυνδς R, corr. Cumont | ἐξετέλεσσε Cumont | ἔτη R, corr. Cumont | μέλλοντας R, corr. Cumont || 7 σερήτας R || 8 δὲ ἐξ ἐτέρου μετάνασιν ἀπάνερος R, corr. Cumont || 10 ὁδόντας R, corr. Cumont || 11 κακομηχανία R | δὲ γυμνώσουσι R, corr. Cumont

²⁸ Fragment relating to Dorotheus II 15, 28, in the edition cited in note 11.

Περὶ τῆς ἀσελγείας.

Ὅρα τὸν κύριον τοῦ ὠροσκόπου καὶ τὸν κλῆρον [τῆς τύχης καὶ] τοῦ δαίμονος ἐν ἀσελγείᾳ ἡμιπεπτωκότας· ἀλλὰ δὴ καὶ τὸ διαμετρεῖν Κρόνον πρὸς Ἀφροδίτην οἴκῳ Ἀρεως <οὔσαν> καὶ Κρόνος οἴκῳ Ἀφροδίτης τὴν ἀσελγείαν ἀπεργάσαντο.

1 ρις' in marg. R || 3 ἐκπεπτωκότας R, corr. Cumont | τω signum diametri R, corr. Cumont || 4 ἀφροδίτης Cumont, signum Martis R

Περὶ τῆς ἀνατολῆς τῆς τύχης αὐτοῦ.

Ἀνέτειλεν αὐτοῦ ἡ τύχη ἀπὸ ἐτῶν λβ̄, καθὼς προεῖπον, διὰ τὴν περίοδον Ἑρμοῦ καὶ Διὸς· καὶ πάλιν ἀνέτειλεν ἡ τύχη τῷ λε' ἐνιαυτῷ διὰ τὴν ἀναφορὰν τοῦ Σκορπίου. τῷ δὲ λς' ἐνιαυτῷ ἔφυγεν ἐν Βυζαντίῳ καθ' ὃ ἀνέτειλε ὁ Ταῦρος καὶ Σελήνη καὶ Κρόνος. Ταύρου 5 ἀναφοραὶ κε, Σελήνης περίοδος κε, Κρόνου περίοδος νλ̄· ὁμοῦ γίνονται χρόνοι ρλ̄. τὸ τρίτον <ἐ>γένετο χρόνοι λε̄ μ. καὶ ὁ μὲν Ταῦρος ὡς ἀπόκλιμα τὴν ξενιτεῖαν ἐστήμανεν, ὁ δὲ Κρόνος καὶ ἡ Σελήνη ὡς ἐν ἀποκλίματι τὴν φυγὴν. ἀπὸ δὲ ἐτῶν λη γ' ἀνέλαμψε αὐτοῦ ἡ τύχη· ἦν γὰρ ἀνατολὴ Παρθένου καὶ Ζυγοῦ — Παρθένου μὲν ὡς ὑποδεξαμένης τὸν κλῆρον τῆς τύχης, Ζυγοῦ δὲ ὡς ὑποδεξαμένου Ἥλιον καὶ Δία καὶ Ἑρμῆν, τὸν κύριον τοῦ 10 κλήρου τῆς τύχης. κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον γέγονε κ<ο>υέστωρ, ὑπάτος, πατρίκιος. τῷ δὲ μδ' ἐνιαυτῷ ἀπεδήμησεν εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν αὐτοῦ χώραν μετὰ πολλῆς δορυφορίας καὶ πολλοῦ τύφου. ἦν γὰρ ἀνατείλας ὁ Ζεὺς καὶ Ἑρμῆς· περίοδος Ἑρμοῦ ἔτη ος καὶ περίοδος Διὸς ιβ̄· ὁμοῦ γίνονται χρόνοι πη̄· τὸ ἥμισυ μδ. καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐν ἰδίοις τριγώνοις ἐτύγχανον, εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν τὴν ἀποδημίαν ἐποίησεν. ἦν δὲ καὶ ἡ ἐβδομαία πρὸς Ἀφροδίτην φε- 15 ρομένη· ὁ γενόμενος λοιπὸν ἐτῶν μη̄ καὶ μηνῶν δύο ἐσφάγη διὰ τὰς αἰτίας ταύτας

1 ρις' in marg. R || 4 βελαν' R, corr. Cumont || 9 ὑποδεξαμένος R, corr. Cumont || 10 κατὰ Cumont, καὶ R | κουέστωρ Cumont | τῶν R, corr. Cumont || 11 μα' R | ἐνιαυτῶν R, corr. Cumont | τὴν sup. lin. R | πολλὴν δωρον φωρίας R, corr. Cumont || 13 ἐτύγχαναν R, corr. Cumont || 14 εὐδομία R, corr. Cumont | φαιρωμένης R || 15 λυτὸν R, corr. Cumont | μδ R

This horoscope can be dated about 4 PM on 29 September 440.²⁹

	Text	Computation
Saturn	Taurus 25 ⁰	Taurus 27 ⁰
Jupiter	Libra 23;8	Libra 26
Mars	Capricorn 26;8	Capricorn 28
Sun	Libra 5;8	Libra 8
Venus	Scorpio 26	Scorpio 24
Mercury	Libra 23	Libra 27
Moon	Taurus 8;4	Taurus 11
Ascendant	Aquarius 23;30	ca. 4 PM

Another horoscope that appears to bear an interpretation favorable to Zeno concerns the birth of a son to the Emperor Leo I in the spring of 463, whose non-viability it was used to predict. Zeno (or rather, Tarasicodissa, as he was still then called), I would suggest, had already been offered the hand of Leo's

²⁹ Neugebauer and Van Hoesen, 140–41.

daughter, Ariadne, when this heir apparent was born, but his astrologer persuaded him that he had nothing to fear from this potential rival. The actual date of the marriage of Ariadne to Zeno was placed by E. W. Brooks "in 466, though it may have been a year or two earlier."³⁰ Later scholars have accepted 466 or 467 as the latest possible date for the marriage, or have simply stated that it took place in 466.³¹ In fact, it might have occurred at any time between shortly after 459, when Leo first challenged Aspar, and 466; our horoscope, if interpreted correctly, indicates that the negotiations leading to the betrothal and subsequent marriage were in progress in April 463. As it was in the political interest of both Leo and Zeno that the child not live, it is not surprising that he died. The horoscope, preserved on folio 25^v of Parisinus graecus 2506,³² designated *P*, was previously published by F. Cumont³³.

Γένεσις ἀτρόφου

Τοῦτο γέγονε τέκνον βασιλέως, ἀπέθανε δὲ μηνὶ ε' ἐν Βυζαντίῳ.

Ἔτους Διοκλητιανοῦ ροθ' μηνὶ Ἀπριλλίῳ κε' ὥρα ἡμέρας ζ', Ἥλιος Ταύρῳ γ', Σελήνη Αἰγοκέρῳτι κγ', Κρόνος Ὑδροχόῳ κς', Ζεὺς Παρθένῳ ιζ', Ἄρης Κριῶ α', Ἀφροδίτη Κριῶ 5 ιε', Ἑρμῆς Ταύρῳ κς', ὠροσκόπος Λέοντι κς', μεσουράνημα Ταύρῳ ιζ', Ἀναβιβάζων Ὑδροχόῳ κδ', πανσέληνος νυκτὸς ὥρα ς' Ὡ Ζυγῶ κδ' λς', τύχη Ταύρῳ ις', δαίμων Τοζότη ς', ὕψωμα <γενέσεως> Λέοντι ια'.

Ἀποδείξιν· οἱ τριγωνοδεσπότες τοῦ ὠροσκόπου καὶ τοῦ αἰρετικοῦ φωτὸς ἀπέκλιναν ἐναντιούμενοι ἑαυτοῖς καὶ ὑπὸ Ἄρεως θεωρούμενοι.

6 8 15 g iter. P

This horoscope can be dated about 1 PM on 25 April 463.³⁴

	Text	Computation
Saturn	Aquarius 26 ⁰	Aquarius 28 ⁰
Jupiter	Virgo 17	Virgo 19
Mars	Aries 1	Aries 3
Sun	Taurus 3	Taurus 6
Venus	Aries 15	Aries 10
Mercury	Taurus 26	Taurus 26
Moon	Capricorn 23	Capricorn 24
Ascending node	Aquarius 24	Aquarius 27
Ascendent	Leo 26	ca. 1 PM

³⁰ E. W. Brooks, "The Emperor Zenon and the Isaurians," *EHR*, 8 (1893), 209–38, esp. 212.

³¹ J. B. Bury, *History of the Later Roman Empire* (rep. New York, 1958), I, 318; Stein, *Vom römischen zum byzantinischen Staate*, 530 note 2; and G. Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, trans. J. Hussey (New Brunswick, 1957), 56.

³² *CCAG*, VIII, 1 (Brussels, 1929), 74–115. See also D. Pingree, ed., *Albumasaris De revolutionibus nativitatium* (Leipzig, 1968), p. ix, and *Hephaestionis Thebani Apotelesmatica*, II (Leipzig, 1974), pp. v–viii.

³³ *CCAG*, VIII, 4, pp. 224–25.

³⁴ Neugebauer and Van Hoesen, 141–42.

The last paragraph gives the astrological reason for predicting at the child's birth his imminent death; the first indicates that it in fact took place when he was $5\frac{1}{6}$ months old—i.e., on about 30 September 463. It also indicates that this (and presumably the other horoscopes published in this article) was included in a work illustrated by the successful astrological predictions of Zeno's astrologer.

Finally, there exists another "coronation" horoscope from the reign of Zeno, that for the entry of Theodorus, the *praefectus Augustalis*, into Alexandria in the spring of 486. This is preserved in the same two manuscripts as is the horoscope of the coronation of Leontius: it is chapter 31 of Eleutherius' compilation, on folio 105 of *E*, and it occupies folio 300^v of *U*. A third copy is found on folio 132^v of Parisinus graecus 2419, designated *G*, a manuscript copied by Georgius Midiates in the late fifteenth century.³⁵ It also was previously edited by F. Cumont.³⁶

Ἐτέρα καταρχή. ὅτε εἰσῆλθε Θεόδωρος ὁ Αὐγουστάλιος ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ.

Οὗτος καλῶς ἄρξας καὶ εὐθηνίαν ποιήσας καὶ ἀκλοπος ὦν καὶ φιλαλήθης καὶ μαρτυρηθεὶς ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως, ταχέως διεδέχθη μεθ' ὕβρεως καὶ ζημίας [τὴν βασιλείαν] ὡς κλέψας.

Ἔτους Διοκλητιανοῦ σβ' μηνὶ Φαμενώθ κε', ἡμέρᾳ Σελήνης, ὥρα α' Ὡ τῆς ἡμέρας, 5 Ἡλίου Ἰχθύσι κς', Σελήνῃ Αἰγοκέρωτι κζ', Κρόνος Τοξότῃ ια', Ζεὺς Λέοντι κζ', Ἄρης Κριῶ κε', Ἀφροδίτῃ Ἰχθύσι ιβ', Ἑρμῇ Ἰχθύσι κγ', ὠροσκόπος Κριῶ κς', μεσουράνημα Αἰγοκέρωτι ι', Ἀναβιβάζων Τοξότῃ, <πανσέληνος> Παρθένω, κλῆρος τύχης Ὑδροχόω κζ'.

1 λα' in marg. E, λε' in marg. G, ρξδ' in marg. U | ἔτερα om. E | post καταρχή add. τοῦ αὐτοῦ U | Θεόδωρος ὁ om. G | ὁ sup. lin. E, om. U || 2 οὕτως G | καλὸς U | εὐθυνοίαν G | ἀκλωπος U | φιλαλήθης G, φιλαλής U | μαρτυρηθῆς GU || 3 τάχει E, τάχυν U | τὴν βασιλείαν om. EG | ὡς ὁ G, ὅς U || 4 ἔτι G | σβ' om. G, signum Lunae pro σ U | φαμινῶθ U, φάμενοθ G | ἡμερινὴ ὥρα G | τῆς ἡμέρας om. EU || 5 ὁ ἥλιος G | εἰς τοὺς Ἰχθύας G | ἡ σελήνη G | εἰς τὸν αἰγοκέρωτα G | ὁ κρόνος G | εἰς τὸν τοξότην G | ὁ ζεὺς G | εἰς τὸν λέοντα G | ὁ ἄρης G | ἐν κριῶ G || 6 ὁ Ἑρμῆς ἐν Ἰχθύσι κγ' ἡ ἀφροδίτῃ ἐν Ἰχθύσι ιβ' G || 7 ὁ ἀναβιβάζων G | ἐν τοξότῃ G | post τοξότῃ add. σ' λ' καταβιβάζων E | πανσέληνος sugg. Neugebauer-Van Hoesen | παρθένω om. G | κλῆρος] κ E | τύχη E | ἐν ὕδροχόω G | κζ' om. GU

Ὅρα τὸν Ἄρην ὠρονομοῦντα καὶ ἰδιοθρονοῦντα καὶ ὑπὸ Διὸς καὶ Κρόνου τριγωνιζόμενον, καὶ τὴν Ἀφροδίτην καὶ τὸν κλῆρον τῆς τύχης ἀγαθοδαιμονοῦντας, καὶ τὴν Σελήνην μεσουρανοῦσαν, καὶ τὸν Δία καὶ τὴν Ἀφροδίτην — τοὺς κυρίους τῆς πόλεως — ἐπαναφερομένους τῷ ὠροσκόπῳ· καὶ εὐρήσεις τὰ πρῶτα τῆς ἀρχῆς καλὰ καὶ εὐχρηστα καὶ 5 παντὸς ἐπαίνου ἄξια. ἀλλὰ πάλιν ζήτηι τὸν οἰκοδεσπότην τῆς τύχης καὶ τῆς Σελήνης, καὶ εὐρήσεις τὸν Κρόνον ἀποκεκλικότα καὶ ἐν πάθει τῶν ἐκλειπτικῶν ἐκπεπτωκότα· ὃς ἐποίησε τὴν καθαίρεσιν μεθ' ὕβρεως. τὸ δὲ τάχιον αὐτὸν διαδεχθῆναι παρεσκεύασαν ὁ ὠροσκόπος, ὁ Ἄρης δηλονότι καὶ ἡ Σελήνη ἐν τροπικοῖς ζῳδίοις καὶ ὀλιγαναφόροις ἐμπεπτωκότες. τὸ δὲ καὶ ζημιωθῆναι αὐτὸν παρεσκεύασε πρῶτον ὁ κύριος τοῦ κλήρου 10 τῆς τύχης ἀποκεκλικῶς, καὶ Ἄρης <ὠροσκοπῶν. τὸ δὲ μαρτυρηθῆναι ὑπὸ> τῆς πόλεως

³⁵ CCAG, VIII, 1, pp. 20–63. See also Pingree, ed., *Hephaestionis Thebani Apotelesmatica*, II, pp. xvi–xvii.

³⁶ CCAG, VIII, 1, pp. 100–1.

ἐποίησαν ὁ Ζεὺς καὶ ἡ Ἀφροδίτη — <οἱ κύριοι> τῆς πόλεως — ἐπαναφερόμενοι τῷ ὥροσκόπῳ αὐτῷ. ἦν δὲ μονότονος καὶ ὕβριστῆς διὰ τὴν φύσιν τοῦ Ἀρεως τοῦ παρ' αἵρεσιν ὥροσκοποῦντος.

15	χ φ $\overline{\text{ιβ}}$ γ $\overline{\text{κγ}}$ $\overline{\text{κς}}$	κλῆρος τύχης \approx ♁ ζ ρ $\bar{\iota}$ ⌒ $\overline{\text{κς}}$	♁ η $\overline{\text{ια}}$ ⌒
	♁ γ $\overline{\text{κς}}$ ♂ $\overline{\text{κε}}$		♁ $\overline{\text{κς}}$
20	♁ ♁	♁	♁ $\overline{\text{κλ}}$ ♁
	♁	♁	♁

1 ὄρα] ὥροσκόπος G | ὀρονομοῦντος G | ἰδιοθρονοῦντος G, διοθρονοῦντα U || 2 τὴν¹ om. G || 3 τοὺς — πόλεως om. GU || 4 εὐρήσεις U, εὐρή² E | εὐχρίστα U || 5 αἰπαίνου G | ζητήσας E || 6 καὶ¹ om. E | εὐρ E, om. GU | καὶ² om. G | πᾶσιν GU | ἐκλειπτικὸν U | ἐκπεπτωκότως G, ἐμπεπετωκότος U || 7 ὕβρεων U | αὐτοῦ U | παρεσκέβασεν U || 7.8 ὁ ἄρης καὶ ὁ ὥροσκόπος E, ὥροσκοπῶν ἄρης G || 8 δηλονότι om. E | τροπικῆς U, τροπικῶ E | ζωδία E | ὀλιγαναφορὰς GU || 9 τετυχηκότες E | καὶ om. G | ζημιωθῆναι G || πρῶτερον G | ὁ κλήρου κύριος E || 10 ἀποκεκληκῶς U, ἀποκεκληκός G | τοῦ πόλου GU || 11 ἐποίησεν EGU | τοῦ πόλου GU || 12 αὐτοῦ GU | ὕβρησις G | τοῦ¹ om. EU || 14–20 schema om. E || 14 τύχης om. G || 16 ♁ om. U || 18 ὁ ♂ G | $\overline{\text{κβ}}$ U || 20 ♁ om. G

This horoscope can be dated about 7:30 AM on Monday 17 March 486.³⁷

	Text	Computation
Saturn	Sagittarius 11 ⁰	Sagittarius 13 ⁰
Jupiter	Leo 27	Leo 29
Mars	Aries 25	Aries 28
Sun	Pisces 26	Pisces 28
Venus	Pisces 12	Pisces 5
Mercury	Pisces 23	Pisces 16
Moon	Capricorn 27	Capricorn 29
Ascending node	Sagittarius	Sagittarius 4
Ascendent	Aries 26	ca. 7:30 AM

It would appear that the astrologer had predicted great things for Theodorus when he was appointed by Zeno to the prefecture, but then was forced by circumstances to seek within the horoscope the indicators of his fall.

³⁷ Neugebauer and Van Hoesen, 148–49.

A series of eight other horoscopes datable between 1 October 474 and 2 April 488³⁸ are found in the same Greek manuscripts as have preserved the political horoscopes discussed in this paper. Some or all of them may have been cast by Zeno's astrologer. But the question of their authorship can not be decided one way or the other since neither "Palchus" nor "Rhetorius" is an uncontaminated source.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 142-52.